SENATE HISTORY

Senate Historical Office
Office of the Secretary
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Statements on the Senate's History

Earlier this year, Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd inaugurated what promises to be an extensive series of addresses to the Senate on the subject of the institution's history and traditions. When the series ends, in 1981, the statements will be assembled in a publication designed to stimulate interest in the 1989 commemoration of the Senate's two hundredth anniversary. By late July, sixteen statements had been printed in the *Congressional Record*. Their dates, subject, and page citations are as follows:

Date	Subject	Page
March 21, 1980	General History of Congress	S2789-S2792
March 28, 1980	General History of the Senate; Explanation of "Morning Business"	S3232-S3235
April 3, 1980	Role of Congress in American Government; Functions of the United States Senate	S3514-S3516
April 18, 1980	History of the Senate Leadership	S3920-S3925
May 2, 1980	Role of the Majority Leader	S4491-S4497
May 9, 1980	Senate Party Whips	S5046-S5050
May 16, 1980	Secretary of the Democratic Conference; Office of the President Pro Tempore	S5524-S5536
May 20, 1980	List of All Former and Current Senators	S5658-S5664
May 21, 1980	Office of the President Pro Tempore, II	S5673-S5675
May 28, 1980	Sergeant-at-Arms, I	S5842-S5845
June 4, 1980	Sergeant-at-Arms, II	S6222-S6225
June 13, 1980	Secretary of the Senate	S6951-S6959
June 16, 1980	Majority and Minority Secretaries	S7107-S7111
June 25, 1980	Chaplain of the Senate	S8217-S8222
July 2, 1980	Parliamentarian and Legislative Clerks	S9187-S9194
July 21, 1980	Reporters of Debate and the *Congressional Record*	S9469-S9472

Additional citations will appear in future issues of *Senate History*.

Access to Senate Records at the National Archives

On June 24, 1980, Majority Leader Robert C. Byrd introduced Senate Resolution 474 providing for "orderly and timely access to the Senate's records at the National Archives." In so doing he was responding to the National Study Commission on the Records and Documents of Federal Officials' recommendation to Congress that its unpublished records be made available to the public at the earliest date consistent with personal privacy and national security considerations. The Commission had concluded that uniform standards for orderly disposition and access within a reasonable period of time would greatly contribute to wider public knowledge and interest in the legislative branch of the Government.

The resolution, which has been referred to the Senate Rules Committee, would result in the opening of all routine Senate records at the National Archives twenty years from the date of their creation. Sensitive records, such as investigative files relating to individuals and containing personal data, personnel records, and records of executive nominations would be opened fifty years after their creation. All files would be subject to the National Archives routine screening procedures.

In his introductory remarks, Senator Byrd observed that in 1936 a National Archives' appraiser examined the collection of Senate records that had accumulated since the First Congress. The appraiser had concluded that "from the standpoint of historical as well as intrinsic interest, (they are) perhaps the most valuable collection of records in the entire United States Government." A year later the Senate began to transfer its non-current official records to the newly opened National Archives Building for proper preservation and eventual public access. During the 1970's the staff of the National Archives reportedly spent an average of 2,200 hours per year responding to mail, telephone, and in-person requests for information believed to be contained in the 15,000 feet of Senate files.

Although Senate records at the National Archives are under the general supervision of the Archivist of the United States and the Secretary of the Senate, individual committees actually determine the conditions of access to their own files. Some committees have chosen to open all records at the time they transfer them to the National Archives. Others have set a specific time period ranging from ten to twenty years. Still others require researchers to petition them on a case-by-case basis regardless of the records' age. Over the

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years, many committees have gone out of existence without making specific provisions for access to their files. The ensuing variety of regulations, letters of intent, and perceived tradition has created considerable confusion, and has often resulted in access to similar but separate bodies of records being granted in some cases and denied in others.

Senator Byrd noted that the resolution would do nothing to interfere with Senate committees' control of their own records. At the beginning of each new Congress, committees would have the opportunity to review their existing access policies, extending or shortening them from the twenty and fifty year standards set forth in the resolution.

The Majority Leader concluded his statement of introduction by noting that "as the Senate's bicentennial approaches, it is important for scholars and the general public to have equitable and full access to documentary sources of this body's past. The resolution I offer today will go a long way toward removing unwarranted restrictions while continuing to protect the national security and personal privacy information contained therein."

Retiring Senators

The following senators, retiring at the end of the 96th Congress, have arranged to deposit their personal papers and office files as follows:

HENRY BELLMON (R-OK)
Oklahoma State University

ABRAHAM RIBICOFF (D-CT)
Library of Congress

RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER (R-PA)
Pennsylvania State University

ADLAI E. STEVENSON, III (D-IL)
Illinois State Historical Society

MILTON R. YOUNG (R-ND)
University of North Dakota

Muskie Papers

Former Senator Edmund S. Muskie has agreed to deposit his senatorial papers in the library of his alma mater, Bates College in Lewiston, Maine. The papers will remain in storage pending the outcome of a campaign to raise funds for suitable housing and processing facilities.

Watergate Committee Records Transferred

The National Archives has received the papers of the Senate Select Committee on Presidential Campaign Activities, better known as the Ervin Committee or the Watergate Committee. Since the Select Committee ended its work in 1974, its records have been

housed at the Library of Congress, under the jurisdiction of the Senate Rules Committee. On April 1, 1980, the Senate approved Senate Resolution 393, authorizing transfer of the collection's permanent records to the National Archives.

The papers of this dramatic investigation fill approximately one thousand boxes, occupying more than three hundred linear feet. The collection is arranged under the general headings of administrative files, staff files, security files, financial records, general files, computer materials, hearings transcripts, and public response correspondence. The latter category, which included a huge volume of unsolicited public mail, has been destroyed.

Currently, the National Archives is accepting requests for access to the Select Committee's records. The Select Committee developed an elaborate computer-based retrieval system for its records. The National Archives expects to have access to a full index from the computer file in the near future to facilitate research in these valuable papers. However, researchers are advised to begin their work by consulting the extensive series of published volumes of the committee's hearings and exhibits. These twenty-six volumes contain almost 13,000 pages of information, with a 2,000-page final report and a 239-page printed index. Familiarity with the printed volumes will reduce needless duplication of effort at the Archives.

Further information and a statement of access restrictions is available in Senate Report 96-647. Interested researchers should contact the Legislative and Natural Resources Branch, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C., 20408, (202) 523-3281.

"Eisenhower Doctrine" Focus of New Foreign Relations Committee Volume

The "Eisenhower Doctrine," which authorized the President to undertake economic and military cooperation with nations of the Middle East, is the primary focus of the recently released volume IX (1957) of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee's continuing historical series of executive session transcripts.

Following the British-French fiasco at Suez in 1956, the United States sought a means to establish itself as a stabilizing influence in the Middle East, specifically to prevent the spread of Soviet power in that region. Unlike the current "Carter Doctrine," Eisenhower submitted his proposal for congressional review. During January and February 1957, the Committees on Foreign Relations and Armed Services met jointly to hear administration witnesses and to rewrite the resolution to avoid making it "a predated declaration of war."

Engaged in the debate over the constitutional "shadowland" between the president's authority as commander-in-chief and the Congress' power to declare war were many of the leading senators of the 1950's: Richard Russell, J. William Fulbright, Hubert Humphrey, H. Alexander Smith, and two future presidents, John F. Kennedy and Lyndon B. Johnson.

Other topics of discussion that year were disarmament policies, foreign aid, and the controversial ambassadorial

nominations of Scott McLeod and Maxwell Gluck.

Copies of volume IX and a limited number of previous volumes are available without cost from the Senate Foreign Relations Committee.

Congressional Fellowships For Historians

The American Historical Association recently announced the appointment of the first two fellows to its newly-established program of "Congressional Fellowships for Historians." Selected from a field of fifty-two applicants were Rosalie Schwartz of the University of California, San Diego, and Duane Tananbaum of Columbia University. Dr. Schwartz is a specialist in the field of Latin American immigration to the United States and is the author of *Across the Rio to Freedom.* Dr. Tananbaum is assistant curator of the Herbert Lehman Papers at Columbia and is completing a book on the Bricker Amendment controversy of the 1950's.

The fellowship, supported by the Mellon Foundation, provides historians the opportunity to spend a year working on a congressional staff and offers an annual stipend of $18,000 plus relocation expenses. Those who wish to apply for the 1980-1981 program should write to the American Historical Association, 400 A Street, Southeast, Washington, D.C., 20003.

Truman Committee Records Open

The files of the Special Committee to Investigate the National Defense Program (1941-1948), which probed war production mismanagement and corruption, and which catapulted Senator Harry S. Truman to national prominence, have been opened for research at the National Archives.

Since 1948 the files have been under the jurisdiction of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, a successor to the "Truman Committee." Until recently that subcommittee reviewed access requests on a case-by-case basis. On February 21, 1980, Subcommittee Chairman Sam Nunn transferred authority for the records to the Secretary of the Senate. Following an extensive examination of the records by the Senate Historical Office, the Secretary agreed to open the files, subject only to the National Archives' routine screening procedures.

Researchers will find the approximately four hundred feet of files rich in correspondence, memoranda, reports, and both public and executive session hearing transcripts. Among the subjects included are domestic oil and gas consumption, Middle East oil production, strategic materials, and "dollar-a-year-men." The National Archives has prepared an extensive inventory of the entire collection.

For further information on the Truman Committee, see Donald Riddle, *The Truman Committee: A Study in Congressional Responsibility* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1963).

Specific requests should be directed to the Legislative and Natural Resources Branch, National Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C., 20408.

Office Replicas

In separate ceremonies earlier this year, the University of Mississippi School of Law and the Nebraska State Historical Society dedicated exhibits honoring two senators who retired in 1979 at the end of the 95th Congress. On March 22, 1980, the University of Mississippi dedicated the Eastland Law Library to commemorate James O. Eastland's thirty-six year Senate career. Two months later, on May 31, the Carl T. Curtis Exhibit opened at Pioneer Village, Minden, Nebraska, in recognition of Senator Curtis' four decades of Congressional service. Both exhibits feature replicas of the senators' Washington offices and include numerous artifacts associated with each man's career.

For further information on these exhibits, including their planning and development, contact Mr. John Sobotka, Archivist, The Eastland Collection, P.O. Box 7135, University, Mississippi, 38677, and Mr. Eli Paul, Curator of Exhibits, Nebraska State Historical Society, 1500 R Street, Lincoln, Nebraska, 68508.

Bicentennial Study Group

Senate Resolution 381, introduced on March 5, 1980, provides for the establishment of a Study Group on the Commemoration of the United States Senate Bicentenary. Currently under consideration by the Senate Judiciary Committee, the resolution would create a sixteen member panel including current and former members of the Senate, historians, the Librarian of Congress, and the Archivist of the United States.

According, to the resolution,

> it shall be the duty of the Study Group to prepare an overall plan for commemorating the bicentennial of the Senate of the United States through an appropriate program of publications, exhibits, symposia, and related activities. The objective of this commemoration is to inform and emphasize to the Nation the role of the Senate from its historic beginnings through two hundred years of growth, challenge, and change. The Study Group in its planning is directed to develop a program that will draw upon the resources of current and former members, scholars, and the general public.

Not later than eighteen months after the date of agreement to this resolution, the Study Group shall submit to the President of the Senate a comprehensive report incorporating its specific recommendations for the commemoration of the Senate's bicentennial. The report may recommend activities such as, but not limited to, the following:

- the production, publication, and distribution of books, pamphlets, films and other educational materials focusing on the history and traditions of the Senate;
- bibliographic and documentary projects and publications;
- conferences, symposia, lectures, seminars, and other programs;
- the development of exhibits, including mobile exhibits;
- ceremonies and celebrations commemorating specific events; and
- the issuance of commemorative stamps.

The Daily Graphic

On March 4, 1873, the New York *Daily Graphic* began publication as the first fully illustrated newspaper in the United States. Sold at newsstands for five cents a copy, the *Graphic* was made possible by a new photo-lithography process, faster and cheaper than the standard wood etchings. The *Graphic* was also the first newspaper to print illustrations directly from photographs, using a process known as "granulated photography." By the mid-1880's, pictures in newspapers became commonplace through the use of zinc etchings, a less expensive substitute for woodcuts, and the *Graphic* succumbed to the competition on September 23, 1889.

Recently, the Senate Historical Office added to its extensive pictorial collections two hundred photographs of Senate-related cartoons and portraits that appeared in the *Daily Graphic* during its sixteen year existence. The Office welcomes inquiries and visits from persons seeking illustrations from its photographic holdings, which include likenesses of many former members, for articles and books associated with the Senate.

THE DAILY GRAPHIC

AN ILLUSTRATED EVENING NEWSPAPER

39 & 41 PARK PLACE

VOL. XII NEW YORK, WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 31, 1877 NO. 1780

SCENE IN THE UNITED STATES SENATE DURING SENATOR CONKLING'S SPEECH ON THE ELECTORAL BILL.

History of the Senate's Rules

In December 1800, Margaret Bayard Smith, wife of the publisher of Washington's *National Intelligencer*, noted in her journal, "A few days after Congress had for the first time met in our new Metropolis, I was one morning sitting alone in the parlour, when the servant opened the door and showed in a gentleman who wished to see my husband. Taking the chair I offered him in a free and easy manner, and carelessly throwing his arm on the table near which he sat, he turned toward me a countenance beaming with an expression of benevolence." After she had chatted with the stranger awhile, her husband entered and, to her great embarrassment, introduced her to Thomas Jefferson. As Mrs. Smith described it, "The occasion of his present visit, was to make arrangements with Mr. Smith for the publication of his *Manual* for Congress."

Jefferson's *Manual of Parliamentary Practice* was one of the few tangible results of the four frustrating years as Vice President that he was just then completing. Day after day, Republican Jefferson had walked up Chestnut Street in Philadelphia to Congress Hall where he presided over a Senate dominated by Federalists. From this vantage point, he listened to the violent rhetoric engendered by the "XYZ Affair" and the debate over the Alien and Sedition Acts he detested. Action on the floor often dissolved into chaos and prompted him to compile his *Manual*, stating in its introduction, "It is very material that order, decency, and regularity be preserved in a dignified public body."

Although Jefferson prepared his manual while serving as the Senate's presiding officer, the Senate never adopted the manual for its own operations. By contrast, in 1837 the House voted to use Jefferson's *Manual* as a supplement to its own rules, and still

publishes appropriate portions of the manual in the *Rules of the House of Representatives*.

The history of the Senate rules, from 1789 to their recodification in 1979, is available in two new Senate documents. *Standing Rules of the Senate* (S. Doc. 96-46) contains the text of the recently revised standing rules, the first complete recodification since 1884.

The *History of the Committee on Rules and Administration* (S. Doc. 96-27) prepared by Floyd M. Riddick, parliamentarian emeritus of the Senate, with the assistance of Louise McPherson, outlines the history of the standing rules of the Senate and the Rules Committee, from the proposals of the first select committee on rules in April 1789 through to the work of the standing committee today. The 153-page volume will be especially useful for those interested in tracing the evolution of the Senate's rules. Also included are lists of the Rules Committee's members, alphabetically and by Congress, together with a listing of state representation on the committee.

Both publications are available from the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration.

New Books

The Personal Side of Senatorial Politics

Ross K. Baker, *Friend and Foe in the U.S. Senate* (New York: The Free Press, 1980), 301 pp.

Rochelle Jones and Peter Woll, *The Private World of Congress* (New York: The Free Press, 1979), 264 pp.

Samuel Shaffer, *On and Off the Floor: Thirty Years as a Correspondent on Capitol Hill* (New York: Newsweek Books, 1980), 304 pp.

T. R. Reid, *Congressional Odyssey: The Saga of a Senate Bill* (San Francisco: W.H. Freeman, 1980), 140 pp.

Twenty years after Donald Matthews' pioneering study of senatorial folkways, *U.S. Senators and Their World*, four new books bring his assessment of internal legislative relations up to date. Matthews shifted scholarly attention from its traditional emphasis on political parties, regional blocs, and presidential leadership, to the complex modes of behavior which tended to breed the conformity and hierarchy that enabled the legislative process to work.

Only one of these studies is particularly concerned with political issues, voting patterns, or national policy-making. They all portray congressmen as less responsive to their constituencies than to their colleagues, and engaged in a perpetual struggle for influence and status. Rochelle Jones and Peter Woll, in *The Private World of Congress*, describe the maneuvering for "the symbols of power -- committee chairmanships, assignment to prestigious committees, large and expert staffs, legislative victories, and special perks." They conclude that members of Congress are not captives of lobbyists or constituents, but that Senators and Representatives mobilize these external forces for internal purposes: to win the support of the colleagues for legislation

and to build their own personal influence.

In *Friend and Foe in the U.S. Senate,* Ross Baker presents a narrower study of the "institutional kinships" among Senators. Like Jones and Woll, Baker focused on the 1970's, although he occasionally offers examples from the more distant past. The book draws heavily on his experiences as an aide to three Democratic Senators, and his interviews with a large number of Senators and staff members -- cited anonymously -- provide amusing and often pungent observations of everything from residential patterns to tennis partnerships and prayer breakfasts. These personal networks create bonds which transcend political and regional identification and which help to explain the importance of courtesy and reciprocity in the everyday business of the Senate. Significantly, friends far outnumber foes in Baker's study of the Senate.

In *On and Off the Floor,* reporter Samuel Shaffer reenforces the themes developed in above-mentioned studies. He concentrates on the impact of personality, timing, and chance in the making of public policy. Focusing on the Senate from the McCarthy era to the resignation of Richard Nixon, Shaffer offers a series of colorful firsthand accounts, drawn from three decades' experience as *Newsweek's* chief congressional correspondent.

By contrast, T. R. Reid focused on one piece of legislation during its two year "Congressional odyssey." Although it was never a major issue, the Inland Waterways bill provided a concise case study of the legislative process and the senators, staff, and lobbyists who shaped it. *Congressional Odyssey: The Saga of a Senate Bill* is based on Reid's lengthy series of articles which appeared in *The Washington Post.* The articles and book also attest to the power of the press, for the persistent attention given to this controversial legislation may have contributed significantly to its final passage.

Other Recent Releases

Alvin M. Josephy, Jr. *On the Hill: A History of the American Congress* (New York: Simon and Schuster, 1979), 414 pp.

This book was originally published in 1975 as *The American Heritage History of the Congress of the United States.* Although it lacks the rich illustrations of its predecessor, the volume's lower price ($14.95) brings it within the reach of a wider audience. Scholars will find little new information or interpretation here, but the general reader is certain to enjoy its well-written and colorful narrative.

Ruth Warner Towne, *Senator William J. Stone and the Politics of Compromise* (Port Washington, New York: Kennikat Press, 1979), 278 pp.

In the final pages of this recent biography, Towne portrays Senator Stone, once Woodrow Wilson's strongest congressional ally, rising in the Senate on March 1, 1917, to urge the defeat of President Wilson's request to arm merchant ships. Stone was well aware that, in so doing, he was closing the door on his political future. A year later, on a streetcar taking him to the Senate in which he had served for fifteen years, he suffered a stroke and died.

Towne carefully traces the rise to prominence of a man whose chief skills were those of manipulation rather than, as the title suggests, compromise. She claims for Stone major responsibility for the enactment of Wilson's reform program.

Though the book's jacket suggests that newly opened Stone papers dramatically shaped the text, fewer than two dozen of the more than 350 footnotes draw upon them. Towne acknowledges that the Stone papers at the University of Missouri, available only after the completion of her dissertation, upon which the book is based, served to reinforce the impressions gained largely from newspapers, government documents and the Woodrow Wilson papers.

The most recent volume of *South Dakota Historical Collections* (Pierre: South Dakota State Historical Society, 1979, Volume 39) contains articles on two former South Dakota senators.

In 1953, eighty-year-old Lydia Norbeck completed the memoir she had begun at her daughter's request. As edited by Nancy Tystad Koupal, "Lydia Norbeck's 'Recollections of the Years'," is a saga of frontier life, love and marriage, and the trials of leaving the plains for the nation's capital. Read with Gilbert C. Fite's 1948 political biography, *Peter Norbeck: Prairie Statesman,* an unusually well-rounded portrait of the senator and his family emerges.

Richard Chenoweth's "Francis Case: A Political Biography" offers a well-written, brief biography of a senator whom critics labeled "pale, square and deadly dull." Indeed Chenoweth concedes that the file labeled "humor," which he started when he began to mine the rich Case Collection at Dakota Wesleyan University, contained very few entries. While he lacked charisma, Case won seven of his nine election contests by wide margins.

Why, Chenoweth asks, did his constituents repeatedly return this allegedly lack-luster representative to the House and the Senate for twenty-five years, from 1937 until his death in 1962? A conservative in fiscal matters and foreign policy, Case, in Chenoweth's judgment, accurately reflected the tension felt by rural, small-town, religious Americans confronting an increasingly urban, mechanical, and secular America.

Nineteenth Century Women's Views

The United States Senate Commission on Art and Antiquities has recently opened an exhibit entitled "Manners in the Senate Chamber: 19th Century Women's Views" at the United States Capitol. This exhibit, which will continue until August, focuses on the manners and mores of Senators and visitors in the United States Senate Chamber as illustrated in diaries, letters, books, and newspaper columns of 19th century women writers. Snuff taking, tobacco chewing and the sending of autograph albums into the Chamber for Senators to sign, are among the customs featured in the display. A complimentary brochure is available. Write: The Office of Senate Curator, S-411, United States Capitol Building, Washington, D.C. 20510.

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Senate Adopts First Records Access Plan

On December 1, 1980, the Senate adopted a resolution designed to improve access to its non-current records at the National Archives. Under the provisions of Senate Resolution 474, sponsored by Senator Robert C. Byrd (D-WV), most Senate records, including those of its committees, will be opened routinely after they are twenty years old. Sensitive records, such as investigative files relating to individuals and containing personal data, personnel records, and executive nominations will be available within fifty years of their creation. This resolution, said Senator Byrd, will reduce or eliminate the "chronic confusion that has existed regarding which Senate records are subject to public access."

Previously, Senate committees made individual arrangements with the National Archives governing access to their papers. Some committees opened all of their records at the time they transferred them (often years after their creation); others closed records going back to the committee's establishment, in some cases as early as 1816. In these circumstances, researchers were required to petition the current committees on a case-by-case basis, often resulting in frustrating delays and inconsistent decisions. Many committees went out of existence without making specific provisions for access to their papers. "This great variety of regulations," said Senator Byrd, "has created considerable confusion and has often resulted in access to similar but separate bodies of records being granted in some cases and denied in others."

In explaining the resolution's purpose, Senator Byrd cited the 1977 recommendations of the National Study Commission on Records and Documents of Federal Officials. That panel advised that "unpublished records of the Congress deposited at the National Archives should be made available (to the public) immediately, except for those (sensitive) materials that (would) fall under the exemptions included in the Freedom of Information and Privacy Acts."

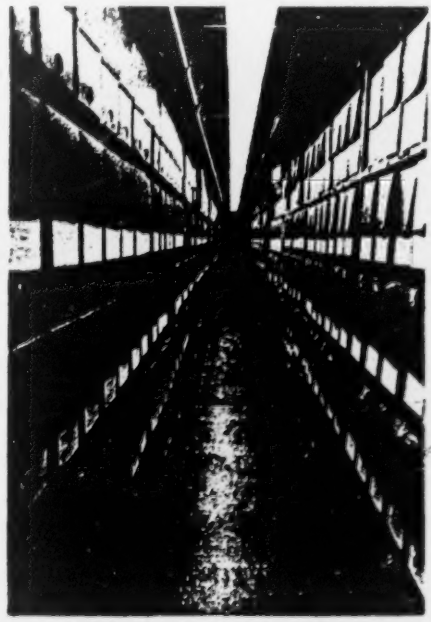
According to the Rules Committee report (96-1042) on the resolution, the Secretary of the Senate must notify all committee chairman at the beginning of each new Congress of the resolution's provisions. Committees, by a majority vote, may reduce or extend the access period. For example, the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, since the early 1970's, has been willing to consider releasing records more than twelve years old, subject to executive branch review when appropriate. If a committee takes no action, the resolution's limits apply.

The provisions of Senate Resolution 474 will take effect on March 1, 1981. In advance of any visit to the National Archives, interested researchers are advised to contact the Legislative and Natural Resources Division, tional Archives and Records Service, Washington, D.C., 20408 (202-523-3281 and 202-523-3238), or the Senate Historical Office, Washington, D. C., 20510 (202-224-6900).

Copies of the resolution and a December 4, 1980, address to the Senate by Senator Byrd on the history of that body's efforts to preseve its records (*Congressional Record* pages S15492) are available from the Senate Historical Office.

Departing Senators Donate Papers

In recent years, newly-elected senators have tended to make arrangements for disposition of their office files and personal papers during their first six-year term of office. That trend was not evident, however, among the eighteen members who left the Senate in December 1980. Of that number, the five who voluntarily retired had selected repositories by the beginning of 1980. Three others, Senators Javits, Morgan, and Nelson also had entered into tentative agreements with specific homestate libraries. The remaining ten senators, all of whom failed to win reelection, made their selections in the final weeks of their terms.



Several of those members since have indicated agreement with the views which retiring Senator Abraham

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Ribicoff recently expressed in a letter to the Senate Historical Office. He said, "I strongly urge other senior Senators to follow my lead and hire professionally-trained archivists. The records we generate in the Senate are important for the study of United States history. Only by beginning work on these papers while we are still in office can we ensure a well-structured record of our activities."

The terms of access to the collections listed below vary widely. The major portions of several collections will be opened within two years. Others, particularly those of younger former members, will be restricted for a decade or two, except by special permission of the donor. For additional information, interested researchers should write to the individual repositories.

BIRCH BAYH (D-IN)
Indiana University
HENRY L. BELLMON (R-OK)
Oklahoma State University
FRANK CHURCH (D-ID)
Stanford University
JOHN CULVER (D-IA)
University of Iowa
JOHN A. DURKIN (D-NH)
University of New Hampshire
MIKE GRAVEL (D-AK)
University of Alaska
JACOB K. JAVITS (R-NY)
Personal Custody
GEORGE S. MCGOVERN (D-SD)
Princeton University
WARREN G. MAGNUSON (D-WA)
University of Washington
ROBERT MORGAN (D-NC)
East Carolina University
GAYLORD NELSON (D-WI)
State Historical Society of Wisconsin
ABRAHAM A. RIBICOFF (D-CT)
Library of Congress
RICHARD S. SCHWEIKER (R-PA)
Personal Custody
ADLAI E. STEVENSON (D-IL)
Illinois State Historical Society
DONALD W. STEWART (D-AL)
Personal Custody
RICHARD (DICK) STONE (D-FL)
American Jewish Archives
HERMAN E. TALMADGE (D-GA)
University of Georgia
MILTON R. YOUNG (R-ND)
University of North Dakota

Party Transitions in the Senate

With the convening of the 97th Congress on January 5, 1981, the Republican Party became the majority party in the Senate for the first time in twenty-six years. In the one hundred years since 1880, such party transitions in the Senate have occurred only eleven times, with the Republicans in a majority for twenty-three Congresses and the Democrats in the majority for twenty-seven. In the following table, for the period since the end of World War II, numbers for the party in the majority at the beginning of each Congress appear in bold face type.

Congress	Years	Republicans	Democrats	Other
79	1945-1947	38	**57**	1
80	1947-1949	**51**	45	
81	1949-1951	42	**54**	
82	1951-1953	47	48	1
83	1953-1955	**48**	46	2
84	1955-1957	47	**48**	1
85	1957-1959	47	**49**	
86	1959-1961	34	**64**	
87	1961-1963	36	**64**	
88	1963-1965	33	**67**	
89	1965-1967	32	**68**	
90	1967-1969	36	**64**	
91	1969-1971	42	**58**	
92	1971-1973	44	54	2
93	1973-1975	42	**56**	2
94	1975-1977	37	**61**	2
95	1977-1979	38	**61**	1
96	1979-1981	41	**58**	1
97	1981-1983	**53**	46	1

Useful historical surveys of the last two Republican Senates can be found in Susan M. Hartmann, *Truman and the 80th Congress* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1971); and Gary W. Reichard, *The Reaffirmation of Republicanism, Eisenhower and the Eighty-Third Congress* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1975.)

Foreign Relations Committee's Historical Series Reaches 1958

The Senate Foreign Relations Committee has recently published Volume 10 in its continuing series of executive session hearings transcripts, covering the previously-closed transcripts of the committee for 1958. Following both the Eisenhower Doctrine and the launching of the Soviet Sputnik the year before, these hearings focus on the Cold War in general and the Middle East and Latin America in specific.

The committee heard testimony from such Eisenhower administration figures as Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, General Nathan Twining of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, CIA Director Allen Dulles, and Deputy Under Secretary of State Robert Murphy. It was during 1958 that Vice President Richard Nixon was attacked on his good-will tour through Latin America, and also that the revolution in Cuba came to a climax. As a result, the committee and the administration directed their attention toward long-neglected Latin American policies.

The largest number of transcripts, however, focus on the landing of American troops in Lebanon. Although the administration had called selected members of the committee and Congress to an emergency briefing at the White House on the Lebanon crisis, other senators, including John Kennedy, Hubert Humphrey, and Wayne Morse, protested their exclusion. "All I know about what has happened is what I read in the *Washington Post* and the *New York*

Times," said Senator Humphrey. "It just seems to me we are entitled to more information than that." As a result the committee requested, and the State Department provided, a series of twelve briefings on the day-to-day events surrounding the troop landings. All of these briefings are included in Volume 10, which was edited for publication by the Senate Historical Office.

Those interested in receiving copies of the Historical Series may obtain them by writing to the Foreign Relations Committee, United States Senate, Washington, D.C. 20510.

Bicentennial Planning Group Established

On August 1, 1980, the Senate adopted Senate Resolution 381 to establish a "Study Group on the Commemoration of the United States Senate Bicentenary. Originally sponsored by Senators Robert C. Byrd, Howard Baker, Ted Stevens, and Harry F. Byrd, Jr., the resolution directs a sixteen-member panel to recommend to the Senate, not later than January 30, 1982, an "appropriate program of publications, exhibits, symposia, and related activities."

The report may recommend activities such as, but not limited to, the following:

- the production, publication, and distribution of books, pamphlets, films and other educational materials focusing on the history and traditions of the Senate;
- bibliographic and documentary projects and publications;
- conferences, symposia, lectures, seminars, and other programs;

the development of exhibits, including mobile exhibits;

- ceremonies and celebrations commemorating specific events; and
- the issuance of commemorative stamps.

The Study Group will be formally appointed early in 1981, and will meet shortly thereafter. Suggestions based on the above guidelines will be welcomed and should be sent to the Senate Historical Office, Washington, D.C. 20510.

Statements on the Senate's History

Early in 1980, Democratic Leader Robert C. Byrd inaugurated a unique series of addresses to the Senate on subjects related to its history and traditions. By year's end, Senator Byrd had presented thirty statements and indicated that he plans to continue his remarks well into the new year. At a later date, these speeches will be edited for publication. Until such time, they are available in the *Congressional Record.* (Daily edition, 1980, Volume 126). Their dates, subjects, and page citations are as follows:

Date	Subject	Page
March 21, 1980	General History of Congress	S2789-S2792
March 28, 1980	General History of the Senate; Explanation of "Morning Business"	S3232-S3235
April 3, 1980	Role of Congress in American Government; Functions of the United States Senate	S3514-S3516
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May 9, 1980	Assistant Floor Leaders/Whips	S5046-S5050
May 16, 1980	Secretary of the Democratic Conference; President Pro Tempore, I	S5524-S5536
May 20, 1980	List of All Current and Former Senators	S5658-S5664
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June 13, 1980	Secretary of the Senate	S6951-S6959
June 16, 1980	Majority and Minority Secretaries	S7107-S7111
June 25, 1980	Chaplain of the Senate	S8217-S8222
July 2, 1980	Parliamentarian/Legislative Clerks	S9187-S9194
July 21, 1980	*Congressional Record*/Reporters of Debate	S9469-S9472
August 1, 1980	Democratic Conference and Policy Committee	S10609-S10616
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August 25, 1980	Meeting Places of the Senate, 1800-1859	S11456-S11461
September 3, 1980	Meeting Places of the Senate, 1859—	S11968-S11974
September 8, 1980	Senate Pages	S12212-S12218
September 17, 1980	The United States Constitution	S12719-S12723
September 30, 1980	General Accounting Office	S13851-S13853
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December 4, 1980	Records of the United States Senate	S15487-S15492
December 8, 1980	Circular Letters of Senators	S15797-S15812

Additional citations will appear in future issues of *Senate History*

Constitution Bicentennial Hearings Available

Those interested in congressional and constitutional history might wish to write for a copy of the recently-published hearings on proposals to commemorate the bicentennial of the Constitution and the federal government. The 147-page volume contains the September 4, 1980 testimony of those representing scholarly organizations and others as

to the nature of a federal government presence in marking this significant anniversary. Single copies of the *Citizens Commission for Commemoration of Federal Government Bicentenary Era* hearings are available without cost from the Subcommittee on Census and Population, House of Representatives, Washington, D. C., 20515.

New Books

Oral history distinguishes two recent biographies of prominent senators in the 1950's. Charles L. Fontenay, a journalist, has written a friendly biography of *Estes Kefauver* (Knoxville: The University of Tennessee Press, 1980, 424 pp). As a reporter, Fontenay covered Kefauver's political career and took time off to work in one of his election campaigns. In 1955 he conducted a series of interviews with Kefauver, his wife, father, and staff members; and in 1970 he supplemented these with additional interviews with surviving family, friends, and associates. The result is an intimate study which, while it adds little new information about Kefauver's Senate career, illuminates the personal roots and motivations of the populist politician.

While Fontenay used oral history as a means of supplementing a traditional narrative, Merle Miller made direct first-person quotations the primary structure of his study of Lyndon Johnson, *Lyndon, An Oral Biography* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1980). Weaving together the reminiscences of Johnson's closest associates, he presents a portrait of Johnson as Majority Leader during the Joseph McCarthy censure, the "Southern Manifesto" and the Civil Rights Act of 1957, the Sputnik scare and other issues of that decade. Miller's account is by no means definitive, lacking substantial documentation from the Johnson papers and other manuscript sources, but it is by far the most vivid account of the man who "mastered the Senate."

Biographies of three of the Senate's earliest members have appeared in recent months. William Samuel Johnson and William Paterson, both delegates to the Continental Congress and Constitutional Convention, were the first senators from Connecticut and New Jersey respectively. Timothy Pickering, after serving as Washington's Secretary of War and then State, served as a senator from Massachusetts from 1803 to 1811. While all three took prominent parts in their respective colony's political life before the Revolution, not all worked for independence.

After much soul-searching, William Samuel Johnson remained an Anglican loyalist who opposed the war both because he believed the break unnecessary and that political independence posed grave perils. Indeed, Johnson's rebound from unpopular loyalist to framer of the Constitution and senator is one of the most fascinating aspects of his life, but one dealt with only briefly in Elizabeth McCaughey's *From Loyalist to Founding Father* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1980).

While the Revolution almost proved to be William Samuel Johnson's undoing, it was William Paterson's making. John E. O'Connor makes good use of Paterson's papers, especially those recently arrived at William Paterson College in New Jersey, to tell his saga of upward mobility in *William Paterson: Lawyer and Statesman* (New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1979).

Paterson emerges as an outstanding example of how the revolution changed the lives and fortunes of many Americans. It catapulted him from a poor, rural law practice to the attorney generalship of New Jersey, the Constitutional Convention, the Senate, the governorship, and, finally, to the Supreme Court. In the Constitutional Convention, Paterson fought for equal representation for small states in the upper house, thereby pleasing New Jersey and insuring early ratification in that state, and making him a likely candidate to be selected as one of the state's first two senators. The chapter on Paterson's short career in the Senate, where he proved himself a staunch Federalist, examines the early Congress and Paterson's role in the birth of the federal judiciary.

While William Paterson realized his ambition for high social status, Timothy Pickering did not and the failure troubled him all his life. While preparing *Timothy Pickering and American Diplomacy* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 1969), Gerald Clarfield became fascinated by his subject's perverse nature and contemplated trying to refurbish Pickering's image as one of the villains of early American history. The result is *Timothy Pickering and the American Republic* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1980), an excellent example of good scholarship brought to bear upon a shadowy figure.

Clarfield's lively biography, however, is not a polishing of Pickering's tarnished reputation. A thorough examination of the Pickering papers at the Massachusetts Historical Society and elsewhere convinced him that Pickering deserved much of the scorn his contemporaries heaped upon him. What Clarfield discovered was the story of an archetypal young man on the make. Like Paterson, Pickering aspired to great things. The twist was that he never felt he reached the top, and thus, he lashed out viciously at those he blamed for his frustration. For every Washington and Adams, or Johnson and Paterson, Clarfield concludes, there were dozens of thwarted Pickerings.

Ellender Library Opens

A ten million dollar library building, named in honor of former Senator Allen J. Ellender, opened in September 1980 on the campus of Nicholls State University, Thibodaux, Louisiana. The cinderblock and glass structure houses the personal papers, documents and memorabilia of Senator Ellender, who served in the United States Senate from 1937 to 1972. According to university archivist Philip D. Uzee, the papers, which filled nearly seven hundred cartons at the time of their shipment to the library, are available for research "with restrictions as to certain areas, such as strictly family correspondence, subject to approval of lifting restrictions by the family of the senator."

SENATE HISTORY

Senate Historical Office
Office of the Secretary
United States Senate
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Three New Oral Histories Open

Darrell St. Claire arrived at the United States Senate at the onset of the "First Hundred Days" of the New Deal in 1933. He came as an aide to Arizona Senator Carl Hayden, and became secretary to the Democratic Patronage Committee. During his forty-year career with the Senate, Darrell St. Claire became closely identified with the transformation of the Senate staff from patronage to professional status. He served as clerk to the Senate Committee on Rules and Administration, and to the Foreign Relations Committee. In 1966 he became Chief Clerk and Assistant Secretary of the Senate, where he served until his retirement in 1977. The St. Claire interviews are

Darrell St. Claire

laced with colorful anecdotes about such Senators as Huey Long, Key Pittman, Joe Robinson, Joseph McCarthy, and Lyndon Johnson. His interviews also give a vivid description of Carl Hayden, recounting the "Silent Senator's" rise from an Arizona frontier sheriff to chairman of the Senate Appropriations Committee.

"When /Lyndon Johnson/ came over from the House, warnings had preceded him. They said, "Wait till he gets here". . . Mr. Johnson was the first one to introduce the automatic typewriters into the Senate, to get the Senate to buy the damn things. They are hideous machines that turn out thousands of form letters and destroy the personal lives of the small girls who attend them. . . On one occasion he called me to tell me that the leadership was only going to allow four staff members of any one office on the /Senate/ floor at any one time. I pointed out to him that the rules didn't say that. I backed away from the phone for the next five minutes while he told me it didn't matter."

Ruth Young Watt spent thirty years as chief clerk of the Senate Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations, and her interviews are rich with information about the subcommittee's many famous investigations. During her years with the subcommittee it investigated the "Five Percenters" of the Truman administration, Communist influence in the federal government, and improper activities in the labor-management field. Its memorable witnesses included Howard Hughes, Jimmy Hoffa, Vito Genovese, and Joe Valachi. In these interviews, Ruth Watt describes the subcommittee's organization and operation under chairmen Homer Ferguson, Clyde Hoey, Joe McCarthy, and John McClellan, and discusses such fellow staff members as William P. Rogers, Roy Cohn, Robert F. Kennedy, Pierre Salinger, and Carmine Bellino. Portions of Ruth Watt's interviews will remain closed until 1988, however the majority of the transcript is currently open for research.

"The day that the /Democratic/ senators came back to the committee in January of '54. . . Senator Joseph

Ruth Young Watt

McCarthy said to me "Ruthy, you know what, you've got to remember that you are not a senator." He said, "Today in that meeting, every time I said something that you didn't approve of, you frowned at me so that it slowed me down and I couldn't say what I wanted to say." I said, "Gee, I didn't know that I was doing that!" You know, I didn't, because I could just glare at them. But instead of saying something to me about "you were out

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of line" or something, he put it that way, which was a very diplomatic way to put it, I thought."

Pat M. Holt joined the staff of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee in 1950, after a decade as a journalist. In 1958 he became the committee's specialist on Latin America, just at the time of Vice President Richard Nixon's ill-fated visit to Venezuela and Fidel Castro's revolution in Cuba. During the next twenty years Latin American relations occupied a much larger share of the Committee's attention. In his interviews, Holt describes the Foreign Relations Committee's response to the Bay of Pigs invasion, the Cuban missile crisis, the Dominican Republic intervention, and the Chilean revolution. Holt recounts the chairmanships of Tom Connally, Alexander Wiley, Walter George, Theodore Green, J. William Fulbright, and John Sparkman (for the latter two he served as chief of staff). His interviews give insight into the increasingly uneasy relationship between the Congress and the the Presidency over foreign affairs, particularly during the administrations of Lyndon Johnson and Richard Nixon.

Pat M. Holt

"One of the things that /Chief of Staff Carl/ Marcy was emphatic about was that one of the most important jobs of the staff was to see to it that senators on whichever side of an issue could make the best case possible for their side, the theory being that the more vigorous and informed the public debate, the better policy there was likely to result from it. . . During consideration of the coffee agreement, Senator /Karl/ Mundt. . . called up and said he wanted to talk to the minority staff man, and I said there wasn't one. That suprised him a little bit, and he said, "Well, I want to oppose the coffee agreement, and where can I get some help?" And I said, "From me." He sounded a little skeptical about that but asked me to come around and see him, and I did, and gave him the case against the coffee agreement, and wrote a speech for him, I guess. He later said to Marcy that he was very satisfied, to his surprise."

Unpublished Senatorial Autobiographies Sought

The Senate Historical Office is preparing an inventory of former senators' unpublished autobiographical accounts and wishes to identify partial or full manuscripts in collections of senatorial papers. The office is considering the possibility of publishing selected portions of these manuscripts in connection with the Senate's bicentennial.

Congressional Leadership Conference

The Everett McKinley Dirksen Congressional Leadership Research Center is seeking proposals for papers to be given at a June 1982 conference that it will sponsor in Washington, D.C. According to the Center, the purpose of the conference is to "provide a nonpartisan forum for analyzing the nature and operation of the U.S. Congress; to encourage an exchange of views among scholars, journalists, Members of Congress, and congressional staff; and to offer the challenge of additional research on congressional leadership." Those interested should submit a two-page abstract of the proposed paper by October 31, 1981 to: Dr. Frank H. Mackaman, The Dirksen Center, Pekin, IL 61554; (309) 347-7113.

Library of Congress Guide to Congressional Manuscripts

Members of Congress: A Checklist to Their Papers in the Manuscript Division, Library of Congress, issued earlier this year, is a useful guide to a major collection of senatorial papers. The 217-page volume contains 1,109 entries for 894 Senators, Representatives and Delegates to the Continental Congress. While some members are represented by only a single letter (Orville Platt, who served in the Senate for 26 years) others have extensive holdings (Henry J. Allen whose two-year tenure is marked by a 214-container collection covering his entire public career). Entries are arranged alphabetically and include brief biographical and descriptive information. Two appendices list members by state and by the Congresses in which they served. Copies are available for $9.00 from the Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D.C. 20402 (Stock No. 030-003-00010-5) or in person at the Library's information counter.

Senate Oral History Interviews Microfilmed

The first five oral history interviews with retired Senate staff members have been completed and opened for research. In addition to depositing copies of the transcripts with the Library of Congress, the Senate Library, and libraries holding related senatorial collections, the Senate Historical Office has also entered into an agreement with the Microfilming Corporation of America to microfilm its interviews. This will be the first federal oral history program to be made available through the MCA's national microfilm service. Literary rights to all Senate Historical Office interviews have been given to the public domain, and none of the material is copyrighted. The first series of interviews to be microfilmed contain the reminiscenses of Dr. Floyd M. Riddick, Senate Parliamentarian Emeritus; Darrell St. Claire, former Assistant Secretary of the Senate; Ruth

Young Watt, former chief clerk of the Permanent Subcommittee on Investigations; Pat M. Holt, former chief clerk of the Foreign Relations Committee; and Francis J. Attig, former reporter of debates on the Senate floor.

Senate Procedure Published

Publication of the most recent issue of *Senate Procedure* represents a total of one hundred years of continuous service by three members of the Senate staff. Shortly after the Senate adopted a revised code of rules in 1884, one of its clerks began a compilation of procedural decisions based on interpretations of those rules. Eventually, the work of updating the precedents fell to Henry H. Gilfry whose Senate service began in 1879. By 1909 Gilfry had prepared for publication a 580-page volume entitled *Precedents: Decisions on Points of Order With Phraseology* (Sen. Doc. 61-129). Before Gilfry's 47-year career with the Senate ended in 1925, he had entrusted his work to Charles L. Watkins, who twelve years later became the Senate's first official parliamentarian. Watkins spent years, in addition to his legislative duties, searching out precedents in *Senate Journals* and *Congressional Records* for the post-1884 period, a task of monumental proportion. In 1958, drawing upon Watkins' records, precedents and advice, his assistant, Floyd M. Riddick, with Mr. Watkins, published a scholarly and definitive compendium of precedents. When Watkins left the Senate in 1964 after six decades of service, Dr. Riddick continued with the increasingly heavy burden of compiling the Senate's significant precedents.

Earlier this year, the Senate published the fourth edition of precedents edited by Dr. Riddick, now Parliamentarian Emeritus. The 1325-page volume includes a wealth of historical data and documentary citations indispensable to understanding the evolution of the modern Senate. *Senate Procedure, Precedents and Practice* (Sen. Doc. 97-2) is available from the Government Printing Office at a cost of $12.00 (Stock No. 052-071-006-23-1).

Senators Howard H. Baker, Jr. and Robert C. Byrd accept copies of *Senate Procedure* from Dr. Floyd M. Riddick

New Books

Howard W. Allen, *Poindexter of Washington: A Study in Progressive Politics* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1981), 334 pages.

Miles Poindexter was one of the most interesting, but obscure, of the early twentieth century's progressive senators. From 1910 until 1917 his outspoken views often exceeded the reform positions of such better-known progressives as Robert La Follette, Sr. and George Norris. After 1917, however, Poindexter appeared to alter his views sharply, supporting restrictions on immigration and related alien influences and attacking organized labor and others he perceived to be threatening the stability of the American political and economic system. It was not surprising that during his disastrous campaign for the presidency in 1920 few found convincing his claim that he was still the same progressive he had been in 1910, nor that Washington state voters, still reform-minded, refused to return him to the Senate in 1922.

After examining two hundred feet of Poindexter papers at the University of Viginia, the author concludes that the senator's shift was consistent with his personal, though twisted, ideological principles. The book contains useful voting analyses.

William Cohen, *Roll Call: One Year in the United States Senate* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1981).

Many Senators plan to write about their legislative experiences, but very few do. In recent years, former Senators Jacob Javits, Norris Cotton, Paul Douglas, and Harold Hughes have published memoirs, along with currently serving senior Senators Barry Goldwater and Mark Hatfield. Joining this company is a freshman Senator, William Cohen of Maine, who has contributed a journal. Senator Cohen recorded his daily activities in the Senate during 1979, describing the persistent pressures from the press, the staff, constituents, interest groups, and the clock. As a former Representative, he contrasts the Senate's business and procedures to those in the House; and as a participant's account, his journal is comparable to Senator Donald Riegle's earlier journal of the House, *O Congress* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1972).

Evans C. Johnson, *Oscar W. Underwood: A Political Biography* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1981).

Despite a thirty-two-year career in the House (1895-1915) and Senate (1915-1927), Oscar Underwood of Alabama is remembered only vaguely, if at all, as the co-author of the Underwood-Simmons Tariff. Though a serious Democratic presidential candidate in 1912 and 1924, and the only Congressional leader since Henry Clay to lead his party in both the House and Senate, Underwood is only now the subject of a full-length biography. Making good use of oral history and the Underwood papers at the Alabama Department of Archives and History, Evans Johnson argues that Underwood's impact on national politics was greater than any other politician from the deep South until Richard Russell's presidential bid in 1952.

In both the House and the Senate, Underwood emerged as a man whose forte was a knowledge of parliamentary rules and a nimbleness for accommodating differences among legislators. Not a formulator of broad policy, Underwood was a legislative craftsman of consumate ability, who also demonstrated a remarkable capacity for party leadership. Republican Representative Nicholas Longworth lamented of Underwood's hold over Democrats, "When he pipes they dance, fall down, roll over and play dead."

Underwood's canniness is evident in his ability to be reelected repeatedly though a "wet" in a "dry" state, though tolerant of Catholics in a rabidly anti-Catholic area, though militantly anti-woman suffrage even after women got the vote, though an outspoken opponent of the Ku Klux Klan in its heartland, and though only lukewarm toward labor while representing heavily industrial Birmingham.

James A. Kehl, *Boss Rule in the Gilded Age:Matt Quay of Pennsylvania* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1981), 295 pages.

When Senator Matt Quay's grandson turned over the late senator's papers to biographer James Kehl, he said: "Grandfather belongs to history; make of him devil, saint or what you will." It was a wise decision, for the papers -- which had been closed since the senator's death in 1904 -- allowed Kehl to write a penetrating study of a master political organizer. Neither saint nor devil, Matt Quay decided early in his career that organization was superior to issues in politics. As a senator he kept the lowest possible profile, rarely speaking on the Senate floor, and declining all committee chairmanships (except for the Committee on Public Buildings and Grounds which enabled him to bargain with his colleagues). As a political leader, Quay was masterful. He demonstrated his own maxim that politics was "the art of taking money from the few and votes from the many under the pretext of protecting the one from the other." *Boss Rule in the Gilded Age* is a primer in late nineteenth century political organizing, bargaining, fund raising, and patronage, as personified by Senator Matthew S. Quay.

Robert Franklin Maddox, *The Senatorial Career of Harley Martin Kilgore* (New York: Garland Publishing, Inc., 1981), 351 pages.

Padding about his office in bedroom slippers, the overweight and rumpled Harley Martin Kilgore looked more like a county judge (which he had been) than a United States Senator. But, as Kilgore's biographer, Robert Franklin Maddox, concludes, he was an effective and hardworking Senator and a trusted loyalist for the New Deal and Fair Deal. Although Harley Kilgore died shortly after becoming Chairman of the Senate Judiciary Committee, he had already built a strong reputation in the Senate as a result of his work on war mobilization, his membership on the Truman Committee, and his sponsorship of the National Science Foundation. Maddox traces Kilgore's career through West Virginia politics to the Senate, and then through the maze of legislation during World War II and reconversion, as Kilgore emerged as a liberal leader in the Senate. This is a comprehensive study, based on newspaper accounts, government documents, the collections of the Roosevelt, Truman and Eisenhower libraries, and the manuscripts of Harley Kilgore.

Ronald L. Feinman, *Twilight of Progressivism: The Western Republicans and the New Deal* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1981), 262 pages.

As a political bloc, the Western Republican Senators during the 1920s held considerable influence and prestige. Independent and individualistic, they were widely perceived as the nation's leading reformers. Their members, including William E. Borah, Hiram Johnson, George Norris, and Robert La Follette, Jr., received extensive newspaper coverage and were frequently mentioned as potential presidential candidates. At the onset of the Great Depression they produced imaginative legislation to combat the economic slide, and prodded the Hoover administration. With the coming of the New Deal, however, the Western Republicans declined drastically in power. Their thunder was stolen by a politically adroit president, Franklin Roosevelt, and their committee chairmanships were lost to the Democratic majority. Although in sympathy with many of the New Deal programs, the Western Republicans clung to the image of a bipartisan progressive democracy which would promote economic equality and opportunity while destroying the influence of political bosses. Their ideal contrasted sharply with the New Deal's "Broker State" cultivation of interest groups and local party machines. By the end of World War II, Ronald Feinman concludes, the remaining progressives in the Senate "were regarded in liberal circles as foolish, irresponsible reactionaries out of tune with their time." *Twilight of Progressivism* is a study of the decline and fall of this prominent political bloc and a collective biography of its membership in the Senate.

Michael Foley, *The New Senate: Liberal Influence on a Conservative Institution, 1959-1972* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980), 342 pages.

Michael Foley's study of the Senate seeks to answer two questions: what, if anything, happened to the Senate dur-

ing the turbulent 1960s; and did these events and the political leaders of that era create a "new Senate." Tracing the bloc of liberal Senators first elected in 1958, together with liberal colleagues who joined them in succeeding elections, Foley sees major changes in the folkways and behavioral patterns of the Senate that were first described in Donald Matthews' *U.S. Senators & Their World* (1960). In contrast to the 1950s, in which he describes the Senate as an "insular, inhibited, and rather drab organization dedicated to detailed legislative engineering," in the 1960s the Senate became "a highly flamboyant, heterogeneous, and publicity-conscious body with all its fingers stuck firmly into every available pie." New, young, liberal Senators were unwilling to pass through a period of silent apprenticeship, to accept the strictures of lack of seniority, or to defer to their party's leaders. After a period of protest, however, many were mollified by their rising power, status, and achievement. As they attained important committee assignments and seniority, they began to regard the folkways as not necessarily related to conservative policies but as "the informal concomitants to the institution's basic structure and to its activities." Having helped to fragment the Senate's power structures, they found increasing need to resort to the custom of reciprocity to achieve their legislative goals. Thus, although changed, the folkways of the Senate survived the 1960s. Michael Foley, of the University College of Wales, based his study of the "new Senate" on interviews with 23 Senators, 24 staff assistants, 6 party and interest group representatives, 3 journalists, and the Senate's parliamentarian and assistant parliamentarian. He surveyed the available literature and the many publications of the *Congressional Quarterly*, and utilized quantitative analysis of election and voting records. His study will stand as a useful guidepost until the passage of time and the opening of senatorial manuscript collections from the era provide some historical perspective on this major turning point in the history of the United States Senate.

Statements on the Senate's History

Early in 1980, Democratic Leader Robert C. Byrd inaugurated a unique series of addresses to the Senate on subjects related to its history and traditions. Over a period of a year and a half Senator Byrd has presented forty-four statements and has indicated that he plans to continue the series through 1982 when the statements will be compiled and edited for publication as a separate Senate document. Until such time, they may be found in the Daily edition of the *Congressional Record*. Their dates, subjects and page citations are as follows:

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May 19, 1981	William Maclay's Senate	S5150-S5157
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September 11, 1981	Recent Procedural Reforms	S9478-S9480

Additional citations will appear in future editions of *Senate History*

Senate Kinship, or All In the Family

When Christopher Dodd took the oath of office as a Senator from Connecticut on January 5, he brought to four the number of sons of former Senators currently serving in the Senate. Dodd is the son of former Connecticut Senator Thomas Dodd. The others include: Senator Harry F. Byrd, Jr. of Virginia, whose father served from that state from 1933 to 1965; Senator Russell Long of Louisiana, who had the distinction of being the son of two Senators, Huey Long (1932-1935) and Rose McConnell Long (1936-1937); and Senator Alan Simpson of Wyoming, the son of Wyoming Senator Milward Simpson (1962-1967).

Additionally, Senate President George Bush's father, the late Prescott Bush, served as Senator from Connecticut from 1952 to 1963. Only twice since the direct election of Senators began in 1914 have sons immediately succeeded their fathers. In 1925, Robert LaFollette, Jr. of Wisconsin succeeded his father who had died in office. Harry F. Byrd, Jr. was appointed in 1965 to fill the vacancy caused by his father's resignation. Only one father and son have served in the Senate simultaneously. From 1848 to 1853, Henry Dodge, Senator from Wisconsin, and his son, Augustus Caesar Dodge, Senator from Iowa, sat side by side, though they did not always see eye to eye. Though there is currently no father-son combination in the Senate, there is one in the Congress; Senator Barry Goldwater of Arizona and his son, Barry Goldwater, Jr., a Representative from California.

Only twice have two brothers served in the Senate simultaneously. From 1800 to 1803, brothers Dwight and Theodore Foster served as Senators from Massachusetts and Rhode Island. More recently, from 1965 to 1968, Senator Edward Kennedy of Massachusetts (who was elected to the Senate seat vacated when his brother, John F. Kennedy, became President) and his brother, Senator Robert Kennedy of New York, both sat on the Democratic side of the chamber. The Kennedy brothers were the grandsons of Massachusetts Representative John Francis Fitzgerald.

Several other Senators of the Ninety-seventh Congress are the relatives of former Congressmen. Like Senator Long, Majority Leader Howard Baker of Tennessee is the son of two members. His father, Howard Henry Baker was a Representative from Tennessee. Upon his death, he was succeeded by his wife, Irene Bailey Baker. Senator Baker is also the son-in-law of former Senate Minority Leader Everett Dirksen of Illinois.

Senator Quentin Burdick of North Dakota is the son of former Representative Usher Burdick. Alabama Senator Howell Heflin's uncle, James Thomas Heflin, was both a Representative and a Senator, and his grand-uncle, Robert S. Heflin, was a Representative from Alabama. Senator Sam Nunn of Georgia is also the grand-nephew of former Representative Carl Vinson of Georgia.

Rhode Island Senator Claiborne Pell is related to more former Congressmen than any other current member. He is the son of Herbert C. Pell, Jr., a Representative from New York, and the great-great-grandson of John F. H. Claiborne, a Representative from Mississippi. He is also the great-great-grandnephew of George Mifflin Dallas, a Senator from Pennsylvania and Vice President under James K. Polk, of William C. C. Claiborne, a Representative from Tennessee and Senator from Louisiana, and of Nathanial H. Claiborne, a Representative from Virginia.

While Senator Pell's ancestors served the nation from several states, few political families can rival the Bayards of Delaware or the Frelinghuysens of New Jersey for their dominance of a single state. Four continuous generations of Bayard men served in the Congress. James A. Bayard, Sr. was a Representative and Senator from Delaware in the early nineteenth century. Two of his sons, Richard H. Bayard and James A. Bayard, Jr. both became Delaware Senators. The latter's son, Thomas F. Bayard, Sr. also became a Delaware Senator as did his son, Thomas F. Bayard, Jr., who carried the family tradition into the twentieth century. Thus, James A. Bayard, Sr., a Senator himself, was the father, grandfather, and great-grandfather of Senators. To extend the Bayard influence even further, James A. Bayard, Sr.'s uncle, John Bubenheim Bayard, was a Pennsylvania delegate to the Continental Congress, and his father-in-law, Richard Bassett, was a Delaware Senator in the First Congress in 1789.

While the Frelinghuysen hold on New Jersey was not as continuous as their neighbors' in Delaware, from 1793, when Frederick Frelinghuysen became a Senator, until 1975, when his great-great-great grandson retired from the House, the family sent five of its members to Congress.

Halle Davis Elkins was the wife of Senator Stephen B. Elkins of West Virginia, the daughter of Senator Henry G. Davis of West Virginia, and the mother of Davis Elkins, also a Senator from West Virginia. That state, in fact, sent two sets of fathers and sons to the Senate. In addition to Stephen Elkins and his son, Davis, there were the Goffs, Nathan and Guy. (The Goff's daughter and granddaughter, Mrs. Louis Goff Reece, was elected as a Representative from Tennessee upon the death of her husband, Brazilla Reece.)

Jessie Benton Fremont had close ties to two men who were their respective states' first senators. They were her father, Thomas Hart Benton of Missouri, and her husband, John C. Fremont of California.

Senator Frederick Hale of Maine was chairman of the Naval Affairs Committee, as was his father, Senator Eugene Hale of Maine, and his grandfather, Senator Zachariah Chandler of Michigan. The Congressional kinship network would appear to be an appropriate subject for future research.